

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9067

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 4529

EXDIS

EO 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR, OAS, CI  
SUBJECT: VI OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY: PROBABLE CHILEAN MEDIA  
QUESTIONS ABOUT US POLICY

REF: STATE 108213

1. SUMMARY: US OFFICIALS ATTENDING THE OASGA WILL HAVE TO  
FIELD QUESTIONS FROM THE LOCAL MEDIA REGARDING US POLICY ON  
A VARIETY OF SUBJECTS. THIS MESSAGE SETS A CONTEXT FOR PROBABLE  
LOCAL CONCERNS, SUGGESTS SOME LIKELY QUESTIONS BEST ANSWERED  
ON THE WASHINGTON END, AND LISTS PROPOSED Q AND A'S TO MEET  
PAROCHIAL ITEMS. END SUMMARY.

2. WE HAVE REPORTED AT LENGTH ON THE WEB OF HARD FACT,  
HISTORICAL FACTORS, MYTH AND NEED FOR SELF-JUSTIFICATION  
WHICH HAS FORMED THE MINDSET OF CURRENT CHILEAN LEADERSHIP.  
FROM THIS FLOWS A PATTERN OF LINKED PERCEPTIONS REGARDING  
CHILE'S PLACE IN THE WORLD AND NATURE OF FORCES WORKING ON  
THE US/CHILEAN RELATIONSHIP. US OFFICIALS RESPONDING TO WHAT  
MIGHT SEEM BIZARRE QUESTIONS WOULD DO WELL TO KEEP THESE  
FACTORS IN MIND IN FRAMING RESPONSES. THE FOLLOWING ISSUES  
ARE VERY MUCH ON THE MINDS OF CHILEAN LEADERSHIP AND  
FREQUENTLY APPEAR IN THE CONTROLLED OR COMPLIANT MEDIA:

(A) VICTIM OF INTERNATIONAL MARXIST CONSPIRACY: THE CROSS  
CHILE MUST BEAR FOR DEPOSING ALLENDE IS IMPLACABLE HOSTILITY  
OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. THUS ALL ATTACKS ON THE GOC  
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AND ALL CRITICISMS OF ITS POLICIES AND ACTIONS STEM FROM,

AND ARE FINANCED BY, A MONOLITHIC WORLD COMMUNIST PLOT.  
EVEN A SOVIET OR CUBAN INVASION IS LIKELY IF CHILE DROPS  
ITS GUARD.

(B) EVERYONE ELSE IS OUT OF STEP: FORTUNATELY THE FREE WORLD  
IS COMING TO SEE THE TRUTH: ANGOLA, ITALY, AND INCREASED US  
DEFENSE BUDGET ARE CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT THE GOC WAS RIGHT --  
COMMUNISTS STILL WANT TO CONQUER THE WORLD AND MUST BE  
STOPPED BY STRENGTH.

(C) SIREN SONG OF DETENTE: MR. NIXON, SECRETARY KISSINGER  
AND OTHER DRAFTERS OF US POLICY FAILED TO RECOGNIZE COMMUNIST  
RAPACIOUSNESS AND DEvised THE ILL-CONCEIVED POLICY OF DETENTE.  
THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS TOOK FULL ADVANTAGE OF OUR SHORT-  
SIGHTEDNESS. THIS LEFT CHILE TO CARRY THE STANDARD FOR THE  
FREE WORLD. NOW WE ARE COMING TO OUR SENSES AND CHILE,  
DEPENDENT UPON US IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, IS GREATLY RELIEVED.

(D) TRADITIONAL DEMOCRACIES HAVE GONE SOFT: MARXIST INFLUENCE  
IN GOVERNMENT, MEDIA AND UNIVERSITIES HAS WEAKENED US AND  
OTHER TRADITIONALLY DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES. THIS COMMUNIST  
INFILTRATION HURT CHILE PARTICULARLY BECAUSE MARXISTS  
GAINED STRENGTH AMONG THOSE INFLUENCING US FOREIGN POLICY.  
WE ARE GOING COMMUNIST AND DO NOT EVEN REALIZE IT. OLD  
FASHIONED DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES CANNOT COPE WITH THE RED  
MENACE; THUS, AS IN CHILE'S CASE, THEY MUST SHIFT TO A  
"PROTECTED" DEMOCRACY WHICH OUTLAWS COMMUNISM.

3. WE LEAVE TO WASHINGTON THE BEST RESPONSE TO SUCH QUESTIONS  
AS: PRESIDENT FORD HAS SAID WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ANOTHER  
ANGOLA, BUT WHAT ABOUT CUBAN MILITARY IN OTHER AFRICAN  
COUNTRIES? WILL US STICK WITH DETENTE BY ANY OTHER NAME AFTER  
WHAT HAPPENED IN ANGOLA? DIDN'T THE OLD DETENTE BENEFIT  
THE SOVIETS MORE THAN THE US?

4. OUR OWN CONTRIBUTIONS FOLLOW:

(A) QUESTION: WHY DOES THE UNITED STATES ATTACK CHILE ON  
HUMAN RIGHTS, WHILE IT REMAINS SILENT ON MUCH WORSE VIOLATIONS  
IN AFRICA AND ASIA, AND PARTICULARLY IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES  
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SUCH AS THE USSR, VIETNAM, CAMBODIA AND LAOS?

PROPOSED ANSWER: THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT REMAINED SILENT  
ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. WE  
CONSISTENTLY MAKE KNOWN OUR CONCERN NO MATTER WHERE ABUSES  
OCCUR, IN VARIOUS WAYS AND USING A NUMBER OF CHANNELS. WITH  
SPECIFIC REGARD TO THE TREATMENT BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND  
ITS AGENCIES OF REPORTED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, THE

UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN A CLEAR STAND: WE HAVE OBJECTED  
REPEATEDLY TO THE APPARENT DOUBLE STANDARD USED IN THE UN,  
AND WE DO WHAT WE CAN TO ESTABLISH A SINGLE STANDARD  
APPLICABLE TO ALL.

BUT JUST BECAUSE THE WORLDWIDE PROBLEM HAS NOT BEEN  
SATISFACTORILY ADDRESSED BY THE UNITED NATIONS IS NO REASON  
FOR THE UNITED STATES TO REFRAIN FROM EXPRESSING ITS CONCERNS  
ABOUT THE SITUATION IN CHILE.

(B) QUESTION: THE UNITED STATES HAS ACCUSED CHILE IN THE  
UNITED NATIONS OF VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS. WHAT PROOF DO YOU  
HAVE THAT VIOLATIONS HAVE OCCURRED HERE?

PROPOSED ANSWER: A CAREFUL WEIGHING OF THE INFORMATION  
AVAILABLE FROM MANY SOURCES LEAVES US IN NO DOUBT THAT  
SERIOUS VIOLATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN CHILE. WE CLEARLY  
STATED IN GENEVA THAT THE US CANNOT CORROBORATE ALL OF THE  
CHALLENGED FINDINGS IN THE REPORT OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS  
COMMISSION WORKING GROUP. HIGH OFFICIALS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT  
TOLD SECRETARY SIMON DURING HIS MAY VISIT THAT A NUMBER  
OF THE SECURITY FORCES HAD BEEN CONVICTED FOR ABUSES INVOLVING  
PRISONERS. THIS IS A VERY ENCOURAGING SIGN. I KNOW THE  
REST OF THE WORLD IS AS INTERESTED AS WE IN LEARNING MORE  
SPECIFICALLY ABOUT THESE EVENTS. DETAILS WOULD PROVIDE  
EVIDENCE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN, AND WILL CONTINUE  
TO TAKE, EFFECTIVE ACTION TO DETER ABUSES AND TO PUNISH ALL  
OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE.

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9068

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 4529

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(C) QUESTION: WHY HAS THE US PAID SO LITTLE ATTENTION TO SOLZHENITSYN WHILE HE HAS BEEN WARNING THE WORLD ABOUT THE CONTINUING VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUSSIA?

PROPOSED ANSWER: AS YOU KNOW, SOLZHENITSYN WAS INVITED TO COME TO THE US. HE SPOKE FROM COAST TO COAST TO THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS AND EVERYTHING HE SAID RECEIVED A GREAT DEAL OF PUBLICITY. WE LISTEN CAREFULLY TO WHAT HE SAYS; HE IS AN ELOQUENT WITNESS ON THE STATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR. I FIND LESS CONVINCING HIS GENERAL APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

(D) QUESTION: WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE KENNEDY AMENDMENT?

PROPOSED ANSWER: TECHNICALLY OF COURSE, THE KENNEDY AMENDMENT IS JUST THAT -- AN AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY SENATOR KENNEDY. EVERY MEMBER OF CONGRESS HAS THE RIGHT TO PROPOSE LEGISLATION WHICH HE BELIEVES JUST AND APPROPRIATE. YOU ALSO KNOW THAT THE ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT SHARE SENATOR KENNEDY'S VIEW ON THIS POINT AND OPPOSED THE AMENDMENT. WE DID NOT RECOMMEND NEW SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR CHILE THIS YEAR, BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ALL MILITARY COOPERATION WITH CHILE SHOULD END. THE KENNEDY AMENDMENT RECEIVED THE SUPPORT IT DID BECAUSE MANY OF OUR CONGRESSMEN, REFLECTING AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE.

(E) QUESTION: WHY HAS THE UNITED STATES CUT OFF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CHILE WHILE IT CONTINUES MILITARY ASSISTANCE  
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TO PERU AND PERU ALSO RECEIVES MILITARY AID FROM THE SOVIET UNION?

PROPOSED ANSWER: THE PROBLEM IS NOT THAT SIMPLE. ARMS HELD BY EITHER COUNTRY WILL NOT RESOLVE THE REAL PROBLEM, WHICH, I BELIEVE, IS TO REACH A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO A LONG FESTERING IRRITANT IN THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG YOURSELVES, BOLIVIA AND PERU. CHILE APPEARS TO ME TO HAVE TAKEN THE LEAD IN A FAR-SIGHTED EFFORT WITH ITS NORTHERN NEIGHBORS TO GET AT THIS UNDERLYING PROBLEM: IN COURAGEOUSLY OFFERING TO CEDE TERRITORY FOR A BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR TO THE SEA, IT HAS TAKEN A SIGNIFICANT FIRST STEP. AT THE SAME TIME IT ENCOURAGES TALKS IN THE ANDEAN AREA ON LIMITING ARMAMENTS. THESE MEASURES SHOW A STRONG SENSE OF STATEMANSHIP IN SANTIAGO -- AS WELL AS IN LA PAZ AND LIMA.

AS YOU KNOW, THE ADMINISTRATION SEEKS TO COOPERATE WITH YOUR DESIRES TO ACQUIRE A REASONABLE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT. SIMILARLY, WE BELIEVE IT IS IN ALL OUR INTERESTS THAT THE UNITED STATES CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN A COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP

WITH OUR PERUVIAN FRIENDS.

(F) QUESTION: WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUED AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO CHILE?

PROPOSED ANSWER: OVER THE YEARS THE UNITED STATES HAS CONTRIBUTED IN A MAJOR WAY TO IMPROVING THE CHILEAN ECONOMY'S DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS. THE UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO YOUR GOVERNMENT TO HELP IT MEET THE IMMEDIATE CRISES IT INHERITED IN 1973 AND TO EASE THE TRANSITION TO A FREE ENTERPRISE-ORIENTED ECONOMY. YOU MAY NOT BE COMPLETELY AWARE OF IT, BUT BY INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS CHILE IS ALREADY FAIRLY WELL DEVELOPED. WE HAD EXPECTED THAT OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WOULD BE TEMPORARY AND THAT IT WOULD GRADUALLY DECREASE AS THE CHILEAN ECONOMY RECOVERED. BUT HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES IN YOUR COUNTRY INEVITABLY HAVE TURNED MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AGAINST CONTINUING ASSISTANCE AT LEVELS THE ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES OTHERWISE JUSTIFIED. TO THAT EXTENT, WHAT HAPPENS TO OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM DEPENDS ALSO ON ACTIONS YOUR GOVERNMENT TAKES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA.

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